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IDEALS

BY
AN IDEALIST

IDEALS

OF

AN IDEALIST

BY JAMES W. ^{Waldron} REMICK

Through our tears we see the ideals for which
they died, and pledge our sacred honor that they shall
not have died in vain.



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By JAMES W. REMICK

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TO
MY WIFE AND DAUGHTER

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FOREWORD

BELIEVING that the truly normal is always progressive; that idealism is the torch that not only lights the pathway of individual progress but guides civilization onward and upward, I have always been a progressive and an idealist, at least in spirit and vision if not always consistently so in practice. I could not be happy otherwise. I could not be happy staying on the lower levels of my own nature. No more could I be content to see my country, my profession, or my party confirmed in degeneracy.

With the whole nauseating and humiliating brood of public scandals, born of normalcy and common sense, before us, we see as never before the practical value and saving power of idealism; we realize as never before that idealism is the mirror of the soul, in which men and states see, not as through a glass darkly but face to face, their imperfections and shortcomings—the perils that lie in the course they are pursuing, and the way of safety. We see as never before that idealism is to individuals and nations going wrong what the light in the lighthouse is to the vessel out of its course and headed for the rocks, and that the sort of normalcy and common sense which has been illustrated by the Veterans' Aid Bureau, Teapot Dome and other scandals, is making shipwreck of democracy and civilization.

The following compilation of my own professional and political ideals as expressed from time to time was prompted by the conceit, pardonable I trust, that my wife and daughter at least, and perhaps a few others might prize it and by the less pardonable conceit that perhaps it might, in some way, promote the ideals discussed.

JAMES W. REMICK.

Concord, N. H.,

September 11, 1924.

PROFESSIONAL IDEALS

LEGAL ETHICS

From remarks before the New Hampshire Bar Association at the threshold of the author's professional career.

Lord Brougham has been quoted as saying:

"A lawyer in the discharge of his duty knows but one person in all the world and that person is his client. To save that client by all means and expedients and at all hazards and costs to other persons, and among them himself, is his first duty; and in performing this duty, he must not regard the alarm, the torment and destruction he may bring upon others, separating the duty of a patriot from that of an advocate, he must go on reckless of consequences though it should be his unhappy lot to involve his country in confusion."

If this correctly states our relation to our own client, I do not see where there is any room for ethics in our relation to our opponent's client or anybody else.

It seems to me impossible that the distinguished Lord, who gave utterance to these sentiments, could have intended what the words so clearly express. Perhaps, if we had the full text of his remarks before us and were to read them in the light of the circumstances under which they were uttered, their meaning would appear entirely different. Be this as it may, the idea expressed that an attorney is committed soul and body to his client, is bound to sacrifice honor, country and everything else if the exigencies of the case require it, is intolerable, an insult to our profession and a degradation of the ideals of justice.

It might do for the relation of pirates in the business of pillage and plunder, but it has no place in a code of ethics for the government of the relation of attorney and client in the administration of enlightened law. When an attorney accepts a retainer, I conceive it to be with the

implied understanding that it is subject to his preëxisting obligations to his Maker, to himself, to his family, to society and to the institution of justice, to be a conscientious gentleman in every relation in which his retainer may involve him. It is the right of our client to expect us to make every honorable effort in his behalf. It is the right of our opponent's client to expect that we will do no more. When we go further and resort to sharp practices of any kind for the sake of a favorable verdict or judgment, we offend against every sound principle of ethics governing our relations to our own and to our opponent's client, and to the court. We make piracy the business of our profession and prostitute the noble science we have sworn to maintain in purity and integrity.

Upon this subject, Chief Justice Gibson once said:

"It is a popular but gross mistake to suppose that a lawyer owes no fidelity to anyone except his client and that the latter is the keeper of his professional conscience. He is expressly bound by his official oath to behave himself, in the office of attorney, with all fidelity to the court as well as the client. The high and honorable office of a counsel would be degraded to that of a mercenary, were he compelled to do the bidding of his client against the dictates of his conscience."

The same sentiment has been expressed in flowing numbers by our great commentator, Sir William Blackstone:

"To virtue and her friends, a friend,
Still may my voice the weak defend,
Ne'er may my prostituted tongue
Protect the oppressor in his wrong
Nor wrest the spirit of the laws
To sanctify the villain's cause."

Sharswood, in his admirable work on legal ethics, says:

"Counsel ought to refuse to act under instructions from his client to defeat what he believes to be an honest and just claim, by insisting

upon the slips of the opposite party, by sharp practice or special pleading—in short, by any other means than a fair trial on the merits in open court. There is no professional duty—no virtual engagement with the client which compels an advocate to resort to such measures to secure success in any cause, just or unjust. And when so instructed, if he believes it to be intended to gain an unrighteous object, he ought to throw up the cause and retire from all connection with it, rather than thus be a participator in other men's sins."

I prefer the conception expressed by these great and good luminaries of our profession to the lower conception expressed by Lord Brougham.

In this jurisdiction where legal battles are fought with such bitterness, it is well for us to keep ever in mind this higher conception of our professional duty, lest in the heat of the conflicts—striving for victory, and prestige, and tempted by emoluments—we may forget our obligations to the court and our responsibility to the great system and institution of jurisprudence, with which we are permitted the high honor of fellowship, and toward which we have the high duty of trusteeship.

LEGAL REFORMS

From an address before the New Hampshire Bar Association at its annual meeting in 1915.

“**I**N this time of world change . . . it is worth while looking inside of our municipal law and seeing whether the judgments of the law are made square with the moral judgments of mankind. For I believe that we are custodians not of commands, but of a spirit. We are custodians of the spirit of righteousness, of the spirit of equal-handed justice, of the spirit of hope which believes in the perfectibility of the law with the perfectibility of human life itself . . .”

“We are in a period of universal development. All business, all science, all thought are casting off old shackles and impediments and improving their methods, increasing their efficiency, lifting up their standards. It should not be that our noble profession is alone to remain stationary and without growth along the lines of better service and greater usefulness.”

I know from experience in seeking legal reform that it is no royal road. In this connection, I take the liberty to quote from a recent letter from a jurist of international fame:

“Shaping the matter into legislation, however, is going to be no easy matter, first and foremost, because it will be so hard to get the ordinary lawyer to realize that we are not laying hands on the Ark of the Covenant and doing all sorts of monstrous innovation. Not only is technicality the surest refuge of mediocrity, but there is no conservatism like that of ignorance.”

Shall it be said of the Bar as was said, in the following lines, of a certain conservative:

"I do not want to fly," he said—

 "I only want to squirm;
I dread to be a butterfly;
 I want to stay a worm!"

"I left the fool in black and red—

 The last I saw was this:
The creature madly climbing back
 Into his chrysalis!"

THE LAWYER AND BIG BUSINESS

From an address delivered as president of the New Hampshire Bar Association at its annual meeting in 1922 in answer to the deprecation by his predecessor of "The tendency of lawyers to become the mere servants of big business, as a lamentable departure from the traditional lawyer."

I COULD not, if I would, add to or detract from the admirable address of my predecessor. I only interpret its spirit when I say that the question, after all, is not *whether* but *how* our profession should serve big business.

In view of the ever growing body of law relating to business combinations and the relation of such combinations not only to the industrial but to the political life of the state and nation, how can a lawyer employ his professional skill and integrity more beneficently than by representing big business in this vast and important domain of law, provided he does so with scrupulous adherence not only to the ethics of our profession but to "honesty" and "justice," adherence to which the New Hampshire Constitution (Part 1, Art. 38, Part 2, Art. 83) and the Supreme Court of New Hampshire (58 N. H. 628) declare to be "necessary to preserve the blessings of liberty and good government."

May we not thereby improve the ethics of business and render great service not only to our clients but to our country. It may be said that if we represent big business at all, it must be according to its own standards, be they good or bad. Not so. It must be not only the right but the duty of every attorney to say to big business, when put to it, "If I represent you at all, it must be in accordance with the ethics of my profession and with those general principles of 'honesty' and 'justice' which have

been declared by the Constitution and courts of my State 'to be necessary to preserve the blessings of liberty and good government.'" If every lawyer, with the backing of every court and every Bar Association in the nation, were to pursue that course, big business could not pursue in unethical demands and methods, if it wanted to. But according to a recent address* by the head of the greatest business institution in America—the United States Steel Corporation—no such collision between our profession and big business is necessary, for big business, according to that declaration, frankly admitting past delinquencies, has come to recognize a code of ethics of its own which leaves no occasion for collision with the most scrupulous lawyer. If differences arise in the future between the captain of industry and his lawyer, on the score of ethics, the lawyer will have only to appeal to the moral law of business just declared by Judge Gary in order to justify himself and to estop his client. In the future the struggle will be not for the lawyer to stand by his own code of ethics against the enticements of his business clients, but rather not to tempt his business clients to violate the moral standards of business as declared by the biggest business man in the business world. I count that declaration of business morality, coming at such a time and from such a source, so epochal in the annals of American business that I shall ask to have it printed as an appendix to the records of this meeting, there to stand for all time in connection with the address of my predecessor, as a basis upon which the lawyers of New Hampshire may serve their business clients with the most scrupulous regard for the ethics and traditions of their own profession and the requirements of "honesty" and "justice" as set forth in our Constitution and declared by our Supreme Court. If the ethical

* Address on "Ethic in Business" by Elbert H. Gary at the Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., June 17, 1922.

standards set forth by Judge Gary in the address referred to are not accepted and acted upon in the days to come by both big business and its attorneys, the fault should not be with the members of the New Hampshire Bar in permitting that declaration to be forgotten by their business clients or in forgetting it themselves. Let us hope that this most remarkable deliverance, coming from such a source and at such a time, may be the herald of better conditions, at home and throughout the world.

POLITICAL IDEALS

SOME TIMELY WARNINGS

THE warnings which follow under the headings—
Illiteracy, Immigration, Use and Abuse of Political
Parties, Use and Abuse of Money—are in the language
used in a Memorial Day Address delivered almost
forty years ago, so that whatever may be thought of the
sentiments expressed, it cannot be said that they were
prompted by present day political considerations, how-
ever applicable they may seem to present day needs.

ILLITERACY

I cannot contemplate, with any sort of assurance, the
presence in the Republic of millions of suffragists, who
cannot read the ballots they cast. This may be a per-
fectly harmless condition, one of the common and ordi-
nary incidents of society, but I confess it is not a condi-
tion in harmony with my ideals of what a Republic
should be. I confess I should have more confidence if it
did not exist—if every American citizen could read and
write.

Considering the relation of the voter, under our form of
government, to its life and destiny, general education
should be the supreme, absorbing policy of the Republic.

Military systems may be the bulwark of monarchies,
but general intelligence is the great hope and safeguard of
a Republic.

Throughout the Union, and without respect of race,
color or previous condition of servitude, there should be
such a complete, thorough, compulsory and universal
system of public instruction that in two or three genera-
tions, at least, every voter in the broad land will be able,

not only to read the ballot he casts, but the glorious history of the Republic, of which he is a proud and constituent part.

IMMIGRATION

Closely related to the dangers from illiteracy, and, in some measure, responsible for them are the dangers from indiscriminate immigration. We revere the founders of this Republic; our hearts respond to the sentiment: "America, the asylum of the oppressed," to which they gave utterance. To the extent of our reasonable capacity to absorb, and as far as we can in justice to those already here, we should continue to extend a welcome to deserving men, women and children of all races and climes. But it is our right, consistent with any rational interpretation of the theory of our government, to so limit immigration that it shall not work injustice to our own people, and especially to exclude the vicious, so that the composite of American manhood, and womanhood, a few generations hence, while it may have lost all trace of the original, will have still an expression of quality and nobility.

As we have in the past welcomed all without racial discrimination, so in the future, any policy of restriction should be based upon inherent quality and character and not upon the adventitious circumstances of race, color or geographic origin.

USE AND ABUSE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

What we conceive to be another danger is party spirit, as it has prevailed in the Republic in recent times. It is all right for the people to divide upon public questions. This is inevitable from the constitution of the human mind. Furthermore, under proper limitations, it is desirable. It compels a searching consideration of public questions, and furnishes a needful restraint upon hasty and ill-advised action. But parties to be beneficial must

be patriotic in purpose, and wholesome in methods, seeking only the good of the Republic, by means of legitimate organization, honest discussion and a free and fair expression of the popular will. When they become organized prejudices, blindly and desperately intent upon party triumph, regardless of means, they are no longer conservators of the public weal, but the greatest possible menace to free institutions. Political parties in the United States have widely and wantonly overstepped the legitimate uses of such organizations, and have become a positive danger to the Republic.

Under the pretext of fighting the devil with fire, but really in the recklessness of party spirit, they have trampled under foot the ideals of democracy, as to the quality of public discussion, the sanctity of the suffrage, and the fitness of candidates. They have introduced falsehood and demagogism into public discussion; they have prostituted the suffrage to a thing of commerce, to be bought and sold like truck in the market place; they have used the ballot box as a magician uses his cabinet, for the perpetration of every conceivable trick and fraud; they have made public office the plunder of the rich and unscrupulous; manipulation, fraud, bribery, intimidation and violence are not uncommon incidents of modern political warfare. This may be a perfectly harmless condition, but if we are not afflicted with a too exquisite and over-refined political sensibility, it is most vicious and seriously threatens the perpetuity of our institutions.

It is a consolation to feel that these things do not have the dispassionate approval of the American people. In the after-calm of battle, back in the great popular heart, is a sentiment of disgust for it all. But it does no good to declaim between elections, only to yield again to party passion and sit supinely by, while the whole diabolical rôle is being reënacted. The sentiment and aspiration for political purity and integrity, to be found at nearly

every fireside over the broad land, should be aroused and organized into a steady, fixed and irresistible purpose to restore political organizations to their legitimate uses. To this end let us all be politicians.

Let us see to it that money does not triumph over merit; that artful and unscrupulous manipulation does not cheat intellect and patriotism of their just recognition. Let us fight valiantly for our candidates and our cause; but let it be the fight and valor of chivalry and knighthood, without touch of dishonor. Let us keep in mind that the sanctity of the suffrage, the rule of honest majorities, and the integrity of our form of government, are more to be desired than the triumph of any party or any policy, at any time, under any circumstances. Without assumption of superior virtue, but rather in a spirit of individual confession, self-restraint, and reconsecration, let us all exert ourselves to put an end to the demoralizing practices into which political parties in the United States have degenerated.

USE AND ABUSE OF MONEY

There is another thing that might well disturb a patriot's contemplation, and that is the absorbing passion for money. It is all right for men to employ their muscle and their brain in legitimate work and enterprise, to provide for themselves and families an abundant competency. This is not only a right, but it is a moral and civil duty; thrift, progress and civilization depend upon it. But money making has its danger line. When it degenerates into a passion, whether from the mere delight of accumulation, or with a view to self-indulgence, or plutocratic power, it becomes the most dangerous and demoralizing influence in human affairs. It results in a grossly unequal distribution of the means of human comfort and happiness; in enormous fortunes, side by side with abject poverty; in extravagant luxury, side by side

with heart-sickening privation, and, as a natural and almost inevitable consequence, in social discontent, and ultimate revolution. It diverts the mind from spiritual, intellectual and patriotic tendencies, and prostitutes everything to a commercial basis. It swarms the primaries, surrounds the ballot box, invades the halls of legislation, corrupts conventions, and, finally lost to shame, and emboldened by success, it would desecrate the very temples of justice. In the degradation it brings, the millionaire looms up above the scholar, the statesman and the philosopher, marking the triumph of the material and commercial over the moral and intellectual—a condition which, in the history of republics, has been the forerunner of disintegration and death.

Let us beware of this dangerous tendency in our own Republic. Let us refuse to "bend the hinges of the knee, that thrift may follow fawning." In an orderly and constitutional way, let us protest fearlessly and incessantly against the demoralizing aggressions of wealth. Aggregations of capital, engaged in legitimate enterprises, should be as scrupulously guarded as the widow's mite; but when they depart from the purposes of their creation, and undertake to run politics, control legislation, in short to dominate the state, maintaining for this purpose paid emissaries around every department of government and at every point of political action, they should receive the deserved rebuke of an indignant and outraged people.

If there are those, who, in the passion for enormous fortunes, or in the delight of plutocratic power, have trampled upon the weak, ground the poor, and invaded, with unholy purpose, the very sanctuary of American Liberty, they would do well to stop in their blind course, study the lessons of history, harken to the mutterings of the masses, take counsel of their discretion and begin the cultivation of patriotic sentiment and the spirit of human brotherhood, before it is too late.

PURITY OF ELECTIONS

Remarks at a State Bar Association meeting more than thirty years ago on a resolution favoring the adoption of the Australian Ballot System to purify elections.

I AM in full sympathy with this movement. I have stood, sir, in a polling place of this nation on the occasion of a national election, involving in its sweep the destiny of sixty million of people and the fortunes of popular government, and observed the working of our present system. I have seen a thousand freemen huddled together in one room at one time before one repository—surging, swaying, brawling and fighting like an impassioned and turbulent mob. In the midst of such confusion, I have seen the workers ply their art—bribing and intimidating—literally tearing the suffragist's shirt from his back in the contest of opposing factions for the possession of his vote. I have stood by the ballot box which should be as sacred as the cabinet that holds the jewels of the heart and into which should fall no expression but the pure and free expression of patriotism, and seen twenty-five per cent of the voting population driven up like cattle and vote as they were bought.

Would to God this were exceptional, but all over the Republic, where party alignments are close, suffrage is surrounded by similar conditions. And we are told that in one quarter, men are deliberately murdered for their political opinions. Now whatever may be said in Fourth of July and Memorial Day oratory—whatever may be sung in verse—the truth is that universal suffrage under such conditions is a farce and a prelude to a tragedy. A government cannot long survive drawing its life from a source so impure, so demoralized, so vicious. Something must be done to elevate the tone of American suffrage or

the glory of this Republic will fade away and monarchs point to it as another illustration of the futility of popular government.

The primary remedy is education, especially education as to civic responsibility. I would have a government truant officer for every home and a government instructor for every child rather than leave those who are to be charged in the future with the responsibilities of American citizenship to grow up ignorant and careless of those obligations.

But there is another efficient corrective, borrowed, strange as it may seem, from the old world. It is the Australian Ballot System—the system of one uniform ballot, including the candidates of all parties, printed by the state, marked by the suffragist in privacy and cast free from every improper influence and restraint. It is no dream of a fanatic. It appeals to the judgment and stands approved by experience. The wonder is that we have run along in the present devilish way without sooner seizing upon the remedy. It was first applied in Australia more than thirty years ago and the beneficent result commended it to contiguous states. It was adopted in England. Then it crossed the Atlantic and was established in the Dominion of Canada. At the close of last year, nine states of the American Union had put it in force to a greater or lesser extent. Wherever it has been fairly applied, whether under institutions of the old or new world, it has brought the same beneficent results. Massachusetts was the last to test it in all its vigor, and the result, I am told, is a complete answer to the objections raised against its essential features.

It is said that it may be difficult for illiterates to vote under it. Mr. President, it would not be a serious misfortune to our country if those, who from ignorance cannot read the ballots they cast, should fail to express their judgment upon the great questions affecting the

destiny of this Republic. I believe it would be a godsend to exclude altogether from the ballot box those who cannot read or write. Offer the high prize of American suffrage for ability to understand its obligations and I venture that illiteracy will fast disappear in this nation wherever the government is not delinquent in providing the proper educational opportunities.

But again it is said that this party or that may suffer by the change. About this I do not know. I think I do know that the Republic would be benefited, and that is enough for me. It is vastly more important to the future of this Republic that there should be an intelligent and free ballot than that any party should have a perpetual lease of power.

Let us have an honest expression of the popular will, North, East, South and West and I will risk the destinies of the nation into whatever hands its administration may fall. If this be party treason, then I am a traitor.

I say, let us adopt this reform at once. Let us be done with the old methods, under which has developed so much that is vicious and portentous, so that every voter at the next biennial election may go into the privacy of a compartment and there alone with his conscience and his God mark his ballot and then proceed unhampered to the ballot box and cast his vote with a clean mind and heart and a sense of devotion to the memory of those who have fought and died for the Republic.

“JETHRO BASS” OR THE ORIGIN OF THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT

Letter written August 1st, 1898, to a railroad president protesting against the domination of the State by his corporation and the sequel to that letter.

August 1, 1898.

DEAR SIR:

I am not one of those who believe or pretend to believe that corporations are necessarily public enemies. On the contrary, confined to legitimate objects and properly administered, I believe they are not only beneficial but indispensable. Great results to civilization are wrought out in their collective character which would be impossible through individual effort. They have been, and must continue to be, potent factors in the development of our State and Nation. In the legitimate exercise of their chartered rights, therefore, the great interests they have in charge should be as jealously guarded as the widow's mite. Holding these views, I have no sympathy with the spirit which would array the people against corporations on general principles. This is demagogism. I will have nothing of it. At the same time I recognize that the tremendous power for good wrapped up in corporate aggregations may be so perverted as to become a menace to the State and call for popular rebuke. A notable illustration of this is the conduct of your railroad in its relation to the State. Instead of attending strictly to the business for which it was created—serving the people as a common carrier of passengers and freight and earning dividends for its stockholders—it has obtruded itself into politics, with constantly increasing audacity, until it is today the dominant influence in every political movement in the State. Its influence is not exerted along party lines, but across them by sup-

porting this man or that whose characteristics, associations and probable attitude upon questions affecting its interests have been favorably reported. To effectually carry on this guerrilla influence its personnel and retained corps is so distributed between the parties that it has access to and commanding influence in the primaries, conventions and councils of both throughout the State. The result is that too many representatives, senators, councillors and governors are indebted to its influence for their nomination or election. But the more serious result, and the one aimed at, is that the influence thus acquired is exerted to control the organization, deliberations and acts of the General Court, and the deliberations and acts of the Executive Department as well. Of course its influence does not always appear in the name and garb of your corporation with the insignia of that corporation upon its sleeve. In fact, so perfect and pervasive is its organization, and so numerous, distinguished and commanding its personnel, and so intimate its relations with the press, that its desire oft seems like the desire of the people. Nor do I say that its influence is always exerted by the direction or with the knowledge of the central authority. As a result of its long career of State jobbing, certain individuals, whose names are entirely familiar, have come to be known and understood as the authorized representatives of its wishes within this jurisdiction. When they press the button, the political machinery of the road is set in motion.

The legislative and executive departments have become accustomed to regard their desire as the desire of the great corporation they represent. It is not impossible that these men, impelled by force of habit, love of power, or personal ambition, have collectively or individually made a more promiscuous and wholesale use of the road's influence than is realized, or would have been approved by your office.

But, after all excuses, the fact remains that authorized or unauthorized, in one form or another, the influence of your corporation is in and around, directing and controlling about every political movement in the State.

I wish these things were only the fabrications of a malignant mind, or the bugbears of a crank, but "'Tis true, 'tis pity; and pity 'tis, 'tis true.'" Every school boy in the State knows it. No man can seriously gainsay it. Of course, this is an unwholesome and vicious condition, destructive of the very essence and spirit of popular government. To protest against such perversion of corporate power is not demagogism, but duty.

I have myself, upon more than one occasion, talked of the situation with men high in the confidence of your corporation, reminding them that the people would not endure it much longer and that the day of wrath was sure to come.

I have indulged the hope that broad management, guided by enlightened self interest, would soon correct the evil, by restoring the road to its legitimate functions, leaving the State government to take its natural course, trusting, not to free passes, the lobby and kindred agencies, but to the just sense of a free and fair-minded people to protect the interests of the road. I have not yet despaired of this result by voluntary action, although I must admit that current events within my observation are far from encouraging.

I shall certainly not engage in any war of personal revenge against your corporation, for it has always treated me with undeserved courtesy, and besides I do not believe in such motives for political action. Any movement with which I unite for the purpose indicated, must come from the heart and conscience of the people, and not from the spleen of any individual. Neither shall I commit myself to any specific line of legislation in

relation to corporate franchises hostile to the franchise now enjoyed by your corporation, until I have examined the question and satisfied myself that it is fair and just to all concerned.

Upon the abstract question, whether the State shall be governed by your corporation, or by the people, I have very strong convictions in favor of the latter, but I still trust that this question may be settled by the enlightened, voluntary action of the road itself. A war between the corporation and the people would be disastrous to both. Their interests are mutual and interdependent. They should respect the rights of each other, and both profit by a relation of mutual trust and confidence.

If this solution of the question is impossible, and the corporation persists in the wholesale inter-meddling in State affairs, I do not hesitate to say that it is the duty of the people, at the right time, upon the right platform, with right motives and right leadership, to demonstrate, once for all, that they alone are sovereign and that they will not suffer any private corporation, however powerful, to dominate the State.

Respectfully yours,

JAMES W. REMICK.

Because the foregoing protest was disregarded and the vicious practices complained of were persisted in, it fell to me to write an appeal to the distinguished novelist, Winston Churchill, who had just published his celebrated novel entitled "Coniston," which immortalized the character of Jethro Bass and was a declaration of independence against corruption in politics, to become a candidate for governor upon a platform in keeping with that declaration. The appeal was signed by thirteen bold and audacious men including your humble servant and in due course was accepted. On July 4, 1906, the

appeal and acceptance were publicly announced and the battle was on which finally resulted in tearing up, figuratively speaking, the side track to the State House; in abolishing free passes; in putting an end in our State to an unregistered and irresponsible lobby; in strengthening purity of election of laws and writing into the constitution of the state an amendment which I had the honor to draft and press to acceptance as follows:

“No person shall have the right to vote or be elected to office who shall have been convicted of any wilful violation of the election laws of this state or of the United States,”

together with numerous other innovations of a progressive character which have been tested and approved by experience and are making for better government.

Although the reforms he thus set in motion have been wrought into the fabric of the State, Winston Churchill, who gave so much of himself to bring about the beneficent result, has been politically banished by the political bosses whose vicious control he had challenged, and the people, apparently forgetful of the great sacrifices of health and time and money which he made in their behalf, have permitted the decree of banishment to stand unrevoked, although the power has always been theirs to have it otherwise.

The seriousness and tragedy of this lies not so much in its effect upon Mr. Churchill personally, whose fine spirit rises above it, but in the deterrent effect of such punishment of noble public service upon the young men and women who are just setting sail and of coming generations when they feel the impulse to render like service.

AN EPISTLE TO A SENATOR

Anent Foreign Entanglements, the Philippines, and the League of Nations

AFTER the Spanish-American War, when the great issue before the American people was whether we should extend our sovereignty over the Philippine Islands, and Senator Lodge was speaking so eloquently in favor, and his great colleague, Senator Hoar, was speaking with equal eloquence against it, the author, then a young Republican, wrote Senator Lodge, in substance, that the proposed extension of our sovereignty over ten million semi-barbarians in the Far East seemed contrary to the admonition in Washington's Farewell Address against foreign entanglements and to the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine and fraught with danger to our institutions.

The Senator promptly replied telling the author, in substance, not to worry but to "Follow McKinley," and inclosed a speech which he had made in the Senate shortly before in support of the proposed adventure.

Twenty years later, when the Covenant for the League of Nations was before the United States Senate for ratification and Senator Lodge was objecting to it upon the ground that it would involve us in foreign entanglements contrary to Washington's Farewell Address and the Monroe Doctrine, the author wrote him again, reminding him of his advice about extending our sovereignty over the Philippines and asking him how he reconciled his present with his former position. The Senator did not answer that letter so promptly. In fact, several years have passed and we are still waiting for a reply.

It is difficult to see what reply the Senator could have made which would have reconciled his position in favor

of foreign entanglement in the former and against it in the latter case. The only conceivable explanation of the Senator's change would seem to be that the extension of our sovereignty over the Philippines was a Republican policy, sponsored by a Republican President and the Republican party while the League of Nations was sponsored by a Democratic President and the Democratic party. This explanation seems to find confirmation "strong as proofs of holy writ" in the fact that before the League of Nations had become a personal and party issue, Senator Lodge had strongly endorsed the idea.

The unanswered letter is here published, lest it be forgotten that those who are now most irreconcilable in opposition to the League of Nations and everything connected with it, because it would entangle us in foreign affairs, were, twenty-five years ago, foremost in urging that we should extend our sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and ten million semi-barbarians in the Far East, loudest in denouncing as "Little Americans" all who opposed that entanglement, and are now most insistent that our sovereignty over the Philippines should be still further continued in spite of their appeal for immediate independence, and lest it should also be forgotten that those who so eloquently invoked the admonition in Washington's Farewell Address against foreign entanglements for the purpose of defeating ratification of the Covenant for the League of Nations by the United States Senate, were, at the same time, in the same place and in the same connection, the rankest possible offenders against the "solemn" warning in Washington's Farewell Address "against the baneful effects" and "frightful despotism" of party spirit; and because it tells the story of a political somersault upon the world stage, in a great world crisis, which is without a parallel in the annals of party gymnastics.

March 4, 1919.

HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Lodge: I have read your recent speech in the Senate upon the proposed League of Nations and note that you are now deeply concerned lest the League may contravene the Monroe Doctrine and disregard the admonition in Washington's Farewell Address against "interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe."

About twenty years ago, with your cordial approval, the United States established its sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and ten million inhabitants, then declared by you to be semi-barbarous and incapable of self-government. This venture was made by our Government without invitation or concert on the part of the nations of the Old World and, as you then frankly confessed, for commercial as well as benevolent purposes. Of course a Monroe Doctrine for ourselves alone which would exclude the sovereignty of the Old World from the New and at the same time permit the New World to set up its sovereignty in the Old could no more endure as a world principle than this Nation could have endured "half free and half slave," and of course the establishment of our sovereignty over the Philippines was contrary to Washington's Farewell Address against foreign entanglement. A plainer departure from the traditions of the Republic could not be conceived. Before the step was taken I wrote you as a young Republican to a Nestor of his party, expressing apprehension about the proposed venture and asking for a Nestor's counsel. Replying you assured me that the step was a proper one to take and sent me a speech you had made on the subject. Following are some of the passages from that speech:

"We stand like children on the seashore, knowing only the shells and the pebbles where we tread, understanding only the ripple of the waves

breaking at our feet, while far away before us stretches the great ocean, whose confines we cannot see, and whose possessions we can only dimly guess. We catalogued the visible stars and then photographed the heavens, only to find far beyond the bodies which the most powerful telescopes can disclose myriads of stars and systems glimmering away into infinite space. . . .

"If a nation cowers in the presence of a new task and shirks a new responsibility, the period of its decline is approaching. . . .

"When we begin to distrust ourselves, to shiver before the responsibilities which come to us, to retreat in the face of doubts and difficulties, then indeed peril will be near at hand. . . .

"Like every great nation we have come more than once in our history to where the road of fate divided. Thus far we have never failed to take the right path. Again are we come to the parting of the ways. Again a momentous choice is offered to us. Shall we hesitate and make, in coward fashion, what Dante calls 'the great refusal'? . . .

"I do not believe that this nation was raised up for nothing. I do not believe that it is the creation of blind chance. I have faith that it has a great mission in the world—a mission of good, a mission of freedom. I believe that it can live up to that mission; therefore, I want to see it step forward boldly and take its place at the head of the nations."

These sentiments, so idealistic and beautiful, although not exactly in the form of precise definition such as you demand of President Wilson, greatly impressed and influenced me. They were worthy of President Wilson, whose idealism you now ridicule; they were worthy of the youth who "bore the banner of strange device" in Longfellow's "Excelsior"; worthy of Sir Galahad of Tennyson's "Holy Grail," and worthy of these noble lines of that great poet:

"For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;
"Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales;
"Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rain'd a ghastly dew
From the nation's airy navies grappling in the central blue;
"Till the war-drum throb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furl'd
In the parliament of man, the Federation of the world."

What I cannot understand is how you could then so singingly, bravely and confidently jump the hurdles of Washington's Farewell Address and the Monroe Doctrine for an object confessedly commercial in its last analysis and now find it necessary to invoke those traditions against the most important and unselfish enterprise of all the ages. Nor can I understand how you could then so eloquently declaim against the spirit of fear and shrinking in the presence of a new duty and responsibility, when that duty and responsibility was of such comparative unimportance, and now cower before the responsibility of a League of Nations, with all that means to America and the world. You were so willing, brave and reassuring about extending our sovereignty over the Philippines and assuming the guardianship of ten million semi-barbarous people, notwithstanding Washington's Farewell Address and the Monroe Doctrine, that I find it difficult to understand your present inordinate anxiety about those traditions, when the purpose is not to intrude our sovereignty and guardianship but to accept an invitation to act in concert with the nations of the Old World for the welfare of mankind, and when the purpose is not, as it was then, to disregard the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine ourselves while demanding its observance by others but to make the Monroe Doctrine reciprocal for the whole world.

Finally, I cannot understand how you could soar upon the wings of fancy to such summits of idealism for an object so comparatively unimportant and uninspiring and can find for the League of Nations to prevent future wars, the most important and most inspiring project in the history of the world, nothing but apprehension, criticism, negation and obstruction, and for the fine idealism of President Wilson in advocacy of that noble project nothing but meaningless rhetoric and glittering generalities.

I must concede that you now invoke Washington's Farewell Address and the Monroe Doctrine against the League of Nations with the same consummate ability with which twenty years ago you brushed aside those traditions to make way for the Philippine adventure, but I find it impossible to reconcile the vision, idealism and dare-to-do spirit of the first speech with the critical, timorous and reactionary spirit of the last one.

Twenty years ago, you advised me to quiet my apprehensions and as a Republican follow President McKinley on the Philippine adventure. If McKinley were President today in place of Woodrow Wilson and stood as President Wilson stands, for the proposed League of Nations, I am wondering whether your advice would or would not be the same, and I am wondering also whether in so bitterly opposing all that President Wilson is endeavoring to do as a peace commissioner you are as consistently mindful of all the warnings in Washington's Farewell Address as you are of the warning against "entangling alliances," and my thought turns particularly to the following from that great document: "I warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally. It exists under different shapes in all governments, but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness and is truly their worst enemy."

Reference to a few of the points made by you against the League of Nations will illustrate how you have changed.

You say that righteous terms of settlement should be imposed upon Germany on account of the war from which we have just emerged before we talk about a League of Nations to enforce peace hereafter.

Of course Germany must be made to answer and to answer in full for her crimes against the world; otherwise there can be no redemption for her or safety for man-

kind. But is it not well while settling the accounts of this war to provide against future wars as part and parcel of the settlement? And is it fair to suggest that those who advocate that course are intent upon suspending the law of retributive justice in behalf of Germany and her allies?

You ask, shall we surrender our sovereignty? Of course we should not surrender our sovereignty, but is it not well to exert that sovereignty in concert with other nations to avert future wars? What is sovereignty for, what is wealth for, what are brains for but to be used as a trust in the service of mankind!—and shall we not be headed for that graveyard of delinquent nations of the past so graphically pictured in your Philippine speech if in this supreme moment when the heart of the world is ready for a league to enforce the peace of the world we make “the great refusal”? Did we surrender our sovereignty by the time-honored treaty with Great Britain for disarmament on the Great Lakes? And is it fair to suggest that those who now advocate a League of Nations for disarmament of the world would surrender that sovereignty? Did harm come from disarmament on the Great Lakes? Can you believe that anything but good can come from general disarmament by a concert of nations?

Shall we surrender the Monroe Doctrine, you ask. Of course we should not surrender the Monroe Doctrine, but if it is based on sound political philosophy and is good for us is it not well to make it the doctrine of the world, as provided by Article 10 of the League covenants? And in the light of that article, is it fair to suggest that those who advocate the League would surrender the Monroe Doctrine? Can we hope to maintain exclusive sovereignty at home while obtruding our own sovereignty abroad, as we have already done with your approval? Is not such a lop-sided, “half-free and half-slave,” “heads-I-win, tails-you-lose” policy an affront and “red rag” to the

world and a menace greater than any you fear from the concerted world Monroe Doctrine contemplated by the League?

If with your counsel we ventured alone and uninvited, as an intruder, so to speak, and in violation of the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine and Washington's Farewell Address to take guardianship of ten million semi-barbarous people in the Orient, need we now hesitate on the invitation of and in concert with all the great nations of the Old World to assume a mandatorial relation toward the millions who have been liberated from tyranny by this war and to whom we owe in even greater degree the obligations of guardianship and upon whose wise and beneficent guidance infinitely more depends?

You ask shall we surrender the power to regulate our own internal affairs. Of course not, and is it not an indication of partisan hostility to the entire program to convey the idea that any of the contracting parties contemplated anything of the sort either for us or for themselves?

Again you ask, shall we do the bidding of Great Britain and place ourselves at her mercy? Of course we should not deliver ourselves, soul and body, into the hands of England or any other sovereignty, but after such coöperation for victory, have we suddenly become so provincial, selfish, jealous and cowardly that we dare not, even for the high prize of "peace on earth and good-will toward men," trust ourselves to act in concert with the nations by whose side we have so recently fought, especially when the scheme to that end is approved by such American statesmen as President Wilson and Ex-President Taft and by the great statesmen of Europe. Why suggest at this time that Great Britain, whose navy so recently saved our own and the liberty of the world, is now maneuvering to entrap us and that President Wilson and Ex-President Taft, the only living men in whom the American people have reposed the confidence of the

presidency with its tremendous power, are foolishly or knavishly leading their country into a trap laid by Great Britain?

You say the mothers of America should have their sons back at once and not be made to wait for a League of Nations. Of course the noble women of America who gave their loved ones should have them back again, and as soon as possible. Of course no advocate of the League of Nations would have it otherwise. But is it not well, while settling the accounts of this war and returning our boys as fast as transports will permit, to make provision so that neither they nor their children, nor their children's children, will have to go through the same terrible experience again? And is it fair to discredit the discussion to that end by carrying to the mothers of America the idea that such discussion is needlessly postponing the joyous moment of reunion?

Then, as if to sow discord in the very councils of peace and so defeat the League, you tell of the suffering of France and would carry the idea that her sufferings are being prolonged, that dreamers may dream their dreams. France has indeed borne the brunt of the war. Her needs are indeed great and pressing. Can anyone be more mindful of this than President Wilson and Ex-President Taft or more anxious to the limit to do her justice? But is it not well for France in her exposed situation and weakened condition that along with settlement for her past injuries shall go a strong League of Nations for her future protection so that she can take up the work of restoration in security and go forward to the glorious destiny to which her noble chivalry entitles her? And is it fair to suggest that the delays to that end are sacrificing the crying needs of bleeding France merely to gratify the idealism of President Wilson and Ex-President Taft and their fatuous followers in pursuit of the "Holy Grail" of impossible "peace on earth and good-will toward men"?

Finally, you would convey the idea that the League of Nations is Bolshevistic in its international tendency and would substitute Trotsky for Washington. To be sure, the League takes note of the unrest in the world and recognizes that the military decision may be in vain unless it is wisely met. To be sure, President Wilson has said that the League voices the aspirations of the common people, but let us not forget that it was the way of the Master and of Lincoln to keep close to the common people. May it be that the social disturbance which menaces the world is due to the failure to follow more closely in their footsteps? May it be that the solution of our social problems must come through more of the true spirit of human brotherhood, more of the genuine spirit of the Golden Rule, more of the real spirit of the Declaration of Independence in all the relations of life, and less perfunctory and conventional prating about them? However, do you think it fair to condemn the League because it voices the aspirations of the common people and aims at the goal fixed by Divine Law? And do you mean to suggest that by supporting the League President Wilson and Ex-President Taft and the millions who are following them are giving aid and comfort to Bolshevism?

In closing your Philippine speech twenty years ago, you spoke with great eloquence and power of the immutable laws of God governing the planets and the progress of mankind. I agree with you that "There is a divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will," but the conventional "Lord, Lord" we read of in the Constitutions of States and which we hear in the opening and closing of assemblies and oratorical perorations, is nothing but blasphemy if we reject as impossible of realization the ideals He set before us and dismiss as Utopian, impracticable and dangerous, the noblest of human endeavors to attain them.

Twenty years ago, facing the Philippine situation, you

said that we stood at the parting of the ways and counseled the Nation not to cower before new responsibilities and duties and not to be guilty of "what Dante calls 'the great refusal'" and warned us that if we were the Almighty would relegate us to the scrap-heap of derelict nations. We have passed through much since then and we stand again at a great divide, calling for the most momentous decision ever made by men or nations. It is now my right to say to you what you then said to me: "If a nation cowers in the presence of a new task and shirks a new responsibility the period of its decline is approaching. . . . When we begin to distrust ourselves, to shiver before the responsibilities which come to us, to retreat in the face of doubts and difficulties, then indeed, peril will be near at hand. . . . I do not believe that this nation was raised up for nothing. I do not believe that it is the creation of a blind chance. I have faith that it has a great mission in the world—a mission of good, a mission of freedom. I believe that it can live up to that mission; therefore I want to see it step boldly forward and take its place at the head of the nations."

During the last twenty years, starting with your noble precepts, I have learned something of the philosophy of life, and it is now my turn to say to you, in the same spirit of reverence for the Most High, that although as a rule the Almighty leaves His children to find their way by the light of conscience, He now and then takes them up onto the summits of the soul and shows them, as if by light from Heaven, the way He would have them go. Such moments of exaltation and vision are usually associated with some great tragedy, as if it were the purpose of sorrow and suffering to point the way to nobler things. Men and nations, if they are wise, chart their course by the gleams caught on these higher levels and thus go forward from one altitude to another toward the goal of

mankind; but if they are not wise—if from fear, selfishness, cynicism, indifference or other cause, they dismiss these visions of the soul as they would dreams or nightmares and sag back onto the lower levels—then they will go the way of degeneracy, and the Almighty will begin the process anew, perhaps by flood, perhaps by fire, perhaps by scourge, perhaps by sword, perhaps by infusing the red blood of barbarism into an effete civilization. But, as you said in closing your Philippine speech, “Onward and forward it will still be.”

Sincerely yours,

JAMES W. REMICK.

WOMEN VOTERS AND PARTISAN POLITICS

An Epistle From a Father to His Daughter Concerning Her Political Duties and the Spirit In Which She Should Perform Them.

Oct. 18, 1922.

DEAR:

I note you have been appointed chairman of the Committee on Organization of the League of Women Voters which, I understand, is non-partisan in character and has no object but to promote the public welfare by intelligent and patriotic exercise of the full political rights, which have so recently been conferred upon your sex.

Called to share the political responsibilities of the government, it is highly creditable that you and so many of your sex feel the weight of those responsibilities and have joined together, not as Democrats or Republicans and not as a political party, but just as women and American citizens to acquaint yourselves with the duties of citizenship and so be able to more worthily discharge those duties. In view of the hold which the party system has upon the minds and habits of people in general, I think it is quite remarkable that throughout the nation so many women, attached by tradition and association to different parties, are able to league together in a non-partisan and public-minded way for the public good. It is an example of breadth, tolerance and public spirit which does great honor to your sex and is worthy of general emulation. That there is great need of such a spirit and force in our public life, no one can doubt who has studied the workings of our party system.

As a result of party contests—campaign after campaign and generation after generation—political parties

have become like rivals in the ring or on the football field and their followers like rooters behind the lines, and worst of all, the spirit of the contest has become so intense and adherence so blind that degrading methods, which would not be tolerated in the ring or on the field, are resorted to not only with impunity but with approval although they menace the life of the Republic. Whatever we may say or think, the fact remains that the prejudice, growing out of party rivalry, consciously or unconsciously, deprives us of that independent and disinterested public mindedness which we should bring to bear upon every public question. How else can you explain the bitterly hostile attitude toward each other of equally intelligent, noble and patriotic men and women in party matters and how else can you explain the fact that truly noble men and women in both parties find themselves so often voting for ignoble men and measures, against their own instincts. Such blind adherence to bald iniquity by such noble men and women cannot be accounted for in justice to them except on the theory of unconscious partisan prejudice, the result of inheritance, habit and association.

In his Farewell Address, Washington said:

“Let me . . . warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally. . . . It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness and is truly their worst enemy. . . . The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, . . . is itself a frightful despotism. . . . It serves always to distract the public councils and to enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one party against another, foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access . . . through the channels of party passions. . . . The common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.”

During Washington's second administration, he wrote:

"Until the last year or two, I have had no idea that parties would, or even could, go to the length I have been witness to. . . . Party spirit has led to abuse of myself in such exaggerated and indecent terms as could scarcely be applied to a Nero, a notorious defaulter, or even to a common pick-pocket."

In a speech delivered in Boston on April 3, 1825, Daniel Webster said:

"I have long been of the opinion that to preserve the distinction and the hostility of political parties is not consistent with the highest degree of public good . . . Entertaining this opinion, I have habitually abstained from attending on those occasions on which the merits of public men, and of candidates for office, were discussed, necessarily with . . . reference to party attachment and party organization."

The great Chief Justice, John Marshall, once wrote:

"Nothing I believe more debases or pollutes the human mind than partisan politics."

Cardinal Gibbons said:

"I am much concerned over the political conditions of this country. There seems to be such a gradual trend toward unrighteousness in the great mass of our people that thinking men must realize that the problem must be met without delay. . . . In politics today men sell their votes for a dollar and a half. Corrupt political bosses in many states and cities lead men to vote either way they choose. Men are nominated and elected who are unfit."

On March 20, 1920, the *Saturday Evening Post* declared:

"Politics is rotten—rotten even than most of those suspect who have none but casual knowledge of the insides of it. But the reason politics is rotten is because the very people who complain loudest of its putridity have allowed it to decay as it has."

The *Boston Transcript* within a few months in a leading editorial quoted warningly from one of the great books inspired by the World War as follows:

"Democracy has come under the thumb of the Party System and the Party System has reached a very high point of efficiency. It has bet-

tered the example of the hugest mammoth store in existence. It has elaborated machinery for crushing out independent opinion and cramping the characters of public men. In commending its wares, it has become as regardless of truth as a vendor of quack medicines. It pursues corruption as an end, and it freely uses corruption both direct and indirect—as the means by which it may attain its end. If the Party System continues to develop along its present line, it may ultimately prove fatal to the principle of Democracy.”

My own experience and observation during an active political life of more than forty years confirm the opinions above expressed and lead me to join in the following counsel recently given by one of America’s greatest men to the women of America, immediately following their enfranchisement:

“As an American who believes always in America above party, I should say that the women of America will make no mistake in the exercise of the highest duties of citizenship if they hold to their independence, putting the interests of the great Republic always above party, and voting from time to time upon the issues that may be presented upon their merits and not from the standpoint of partisan politics. In this way they will be able to exercise an influence and power which will work constantly for the common good, because it will compel each of the great political parties to reckon with this formidable independent element and strive to act always for the best interests of the country in order that they may secure this independent support.”

If you believe with me that women can serve their country best by remaining non-partisan, still I would have no quarrel with those who believe that every woman should align herself with one party or the other—with all that implies of subjection to party discipline and support of party candidates and policies, whether good or bad. On the contrary, I would wish them Godspeed and help them to accomplish the good they hope to accomplish through their respective parties. If it is their desire to simply accomplish good for the country and the difference between you is merely one of method, they too will be tolerant for they will find it much easier to persuade their partisan brothers to stop playing the game

and do what is right, if there is a great non-partisan body of their sisters on the outside—holding the balance of power—and sure to cast their votes against the delinquent party. Most progressive legislation aimed at political corruption and seeking civic uplift has come about not through the initiative of political parties and politicians but by coöperation between so called *insurgent* Republicans and Democrats—holding the balance of power, standing firmly for principle as against party, and so ultimately compelling favorable party action as a matter of party preservation. But party insurgency is not only contrary to the normal party habit of mind but is also risky business for the insurgent. As a rule, therefore, the partisan man or woman will submit to the party mandate, right or wrong, rather than depart from the party habit or incur the risk of insurgency. Insurgency, therefore, is the exception and party loyalty the rule. The politicians presume upon this disposition to party adherence and so resist political reforms and take liberties for political and selfish ends which they would not otherwise do. If they were always menaced by an organized and continuing body of independent citizens—holding, perhaps, the balance of power and not committed to the rules of the party game, your partisan sisters might be able to induce favorable party action for the things you hold in common without resorting to insurgency. However, experience has demonstrated that an independent balance of power is a necessary complement of the party system—that without it parties degenerate into corrupt and self-seeking political machines and become, as Washington, Marshall, Webster, Cardinal Gibbons and others have said, a menace to the Republic.

While avoiding, as you would poison, the prejudice and intolerance of partisanship, you should, at the same time, avoid the prejudice and intolerance which are too often found in the disguise of non-partisanship and reform.

Prejudice and intolerance are as bad in one case as in the other. Do not fear to be called a high-brow or reformer for doing what you think you ought to do as an American citizen, but be sure that you do not do it in any holier than thou, or high-brow spirit. Remember that in the sight of God, the highest social level is where the common people are earning their bread in the sweat of their brows and that in proof of this, He has exalted the Carpenter's Son and the Rail Splitter to the highest places respectively in the spiritual and political world and for all the ages. Avoid, as you would poison, racial and religious prejudice. Be as broad and tolerant in these respects as Lincoln was and you will go far toward being as good a Christian and Patriot. Do not forget that our Government is founded upon the idea of religious as well as political liberty; that to err is human—to forgive, divine, and that the greatest things on earth or in heaven are charity and love.

You will meet with many rebuffs and disappointments. The world will seem slow to accept the truth, however obvious it may be to you, but do not be discouraged. Remember that the Golden Rule and the Declaration of Independence are as yet little more than beautiful theories and that the Master was Crucified, and Lincoln was shot. However rough and dark the road, however hard and slow the journey, and however far away the divine event may seem, never lose faith in the ultimate triumph of right. Guard well your health and character, fearlessly do your duty as you see it, keep your spirit sweet, above all trust in God, and the angels will attend you and the world will be better because of your life and influence.

All this seems like preaching—as if you needed it when, in fact, I need it more than you do. It is a source of great happiness that as to most of the matters above indicated, both you and mother are already examples to me. If you find nothing else of value in this letter than

evidence that I am trying to follow your example, I trust that, for that alone, it may prove a source of satisfaction.

Affectionately,

NATIONAL SELFISHNESS OR NATIONAL SOUL?

*Remarks at a state-wide Belgium Relief mass meeting at Concord, N. H.,
March 3, 1915.*

A SHORT time ago a most estimable lady said to me that she would have more sympathy for Belgium if she had not brought her troubles upon herself by unnecessarily resisting the passage of the German Army across her territory to reach and destroy France, and defending her neutrality in accordance with treaty obligations, when she might have ignored the treaty as a scrap of paper, as Germany did, and so escaped the awful infliction which came to her.

Holding, as I do, that treaty obligations are sacred, that a man's home is his castle and that the same sanctity should surround the unoffending citizens of a civilized state, I confess that the remark aroused my indignation. Had I made a reply, I would have said:

"If the Christ had regarded his life and safety, he would not have been crucified; but the world and the ages would have lost their greatest inspiration."

I would have said:

"If women had been willing to submit to dishonor to escape violence, there would have been fewer assaults; but the ideal of womanhood, the next greatest inspirational force in the progress of civilization, would have been lost to the world."

I would have said:

"If the barons of England had been willing to submit to the exactions and tyranny of King John, the Empire would have escaped the ravages of fire and sword; but we should not have that priceless guaranty of human liberty, the Magna Charter."

I would have said that:

"If our forefathers had been willing to submit to taxation without representation, they would have escaped the bloodshed and sacrifices of Bunker Hill and Valley Forge; but we should not have the Declaration

of Independence, the Constitution of the United States nor this great Republic that is leading the world onward to universal democracy."

I would have said:

"If the men of 1861 had been willing to regard the Constitution as a scrap of paper and the principles of the Declaration of Independence as glittering generalities which they had better waive than fight for, they would have escaped all the horrors of that fratricidal conflict; but we should not have the Stars and Stripes as the ensign of a free people and an indissoluble Union."

We should have no sympathy with morbid martyrdom and much less with the bravery that flaunts itself, but we should glory in that spirit which, throughout the ages, has led men and women and nations to stand up and fight for their honor and their ideals; and I say that, if every cathedral and library and work of art and every city and town and every man, woman and child in Belgium were blotted from the face of the earth and nothing remained but the blood of her children upon the green grass of Belgium, there would be more potentiality for making the future civilization of the world what it should be in that blood, shed in defense of treaty obligation and national integrity and honor, than there would be in Belgium intact, with a record of cowardly and selfish submission.

That this little country has been shot to pieces, its resources confiscated and its whole population reduced to actual starvation for no offence except that she insisted that her neutrality should be respected in accordance with solemn treaty obligations, is an illustration of the ruthlessness of war without a parallel in human annals.

But let us remember that it is the way of the Almighty to bring about necessary readjustments in the moral, political and natural worlds by means of great tragedies and convulsions.

In the moral world, we see this process at work in the tragedy of the cross. There had been dreams of New Testament ideals before the Christian era, but there had to be that great sacrifice to give them enduring vitality.

In the political world, we see the same divine hand in the bloody revolutions which have marked the progress of political liberty—notably in the American Revolution, the French Revolution and in our Civil War. For centuries, there had been dreams of the inalienable rights of man, but there had to be those great human tragedies to give those rights a permanent place in political society.

In the natural world the same law is at work. We hear it in the thunder grounding arms among the mountains. We feel it in the shock of the earthquake. We see it in the flash of the lightning and in the fury of the cyclone and the sea. These titanic forces often carry devastation and death in their pathway but they preserve the equilibrium of the universe and save it from worse destruction.

Can we not see in the mighty force that is now shaking the earth from center to circumference as it was never shaken before, and in the tragedy of Belgium which is set in the midst of the carnage like a cross crimsoned with blood, the power of the invisible one arousing mankind against militarism by visualizing as never before its appalling consequences and horror and by preparing in the old way of convulsion, tragedy and sacrifice, for the fulfillment of the prophecy: "He shall judge among the nations and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks. Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

In this great world conflict in which so many of our sister nations are industrially prostrate, fighting for their very existence, what part shall America, "the land of the free and the home of the brave," play? Shall it be the part of the turkey buzzard, or shall it be a chivalrous part—bearing a full share of the great sacrifice which is to transform the civilization of the world.

TWO GUARDIANS OF DEMOCRACY COLUMBIA AND LAFRANCE

From an address delivered at Concord, New Hampshire, February 24, 1919, on the occasion of the presentation by the French Government of official certificates of her gratitude to the sons and daughters of Concord who gave their lives in the World War.

NOT only in bravery—fighting for democracy—but in gracious courtesy, France and America are at once comrades and rivals. To America, France gave the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor, bearing the inscription: "Liberty Enlightening the World." To France, America is presenting a memorial statue to mark the place at the Marne where her brave sons made that heroic defense, which gave to America the opportunity to come to her rescue and not only pay her debt to France but to fulfill her trust as the world's great leader of democracy.

Tonight, in the same spirit of gracious reciprocity, France is to give to those who gave their sons and daughters that France and liberty might live, a beautiful and touching symbol of her gratitude.

Joined together by such bonds of sacrifice, sentiment and aspirations, may they continue to stand guard together over the ideals of democracy. What God hath joined together for such noble ends, may nothing put asunder.

In the war of the Revolution and in the World War, there was, inevitably, more or less friction, but now, as then, let us remember only the noble comradeship in a noble cause and stand together to preserve world peace and uphold human liberty.

May I not humbly pray "that the mystic chord of memory stretching from every battlefield and patriot's grave to every living heart and hearthstone" may touch

“the better angels of our natures” and make and keep us worthy of all who have done and died for liberty; may I not plead that the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the Golden Rule may live and breathe in every fibre of our being every moment of our lives and govern the action of men and nations in all their relations?

Do you say this is a dream impossible of realization? If so Christianity is a myth, and divine worship a mockery. If so, Calvary, Bunker Hill, Gettysburg, Flanders Fields, and all the battles and triumphs and tragedies of the human heart since the world began have been to no purpose. If so, the Master and Lincoln and all the martyrs of all the ages have died in vain. If so, America and France and Washington and LaFayette might as well never have fought and suffered together. If so, the Statue of Liberty France gave to America and the memorial statue which America in turn is giving to France are a waste of money, and the certificates which France is to give tonight in honor of the sons and daughters of Concord who gave their lives that she might live are “mere scraps of paper.” Let us rather believe that “there is a divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will”; that “through the ages one increasing purpose runs and the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns”; that the way of progress from barbarism to our present state still leads forward and upward and that all the sacrifices of the past, including the latest sacrifice of your own sons, and daughters, are in accordance with a Divine plan to bring ultimate “peace on earth, good-will toward men.”

The process of upheavals and reactions in the social and political as well as in the material world are hard to understand. LaFayette, whose supreme passion was for liberty and who had fought and sacrificed so much for it in the Revolution over here, in the Revolution which

soon followed over there, but narrowly escaped the guillotine and was actually driven out of the country and imprisoned and persecuted at the hands of the revolutionists and in the name of liberty. In the midst of the chaos and confusion and apparent hopelessness of our times, when the perverse desire, expressed by the character in Macbeth to "pour the sweet milk of concord into hell, uproar the universal peace, confound all unity on earth," would seem to have come to pass, let us not forget that God still reigns—that after the thunder and lightning is the rainbow; after the crucifixion, the Golden Rule; after the Revolution, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States; after the Rebellion, emancipation and a more perfect Union; and after the Reign of Terror, the glorious LaFrance of the Marne—worthy sister of our own Columbia.

THREE PILLARS OF CIVILIZATION

CHURCH, SCHOOL AND HOME

From an address delivered at Conway, N. H., September, 1923, at the dedication of the A. C. Kennett High School

OBVIOUSLY the true value to civilization of the church, the school and the home does not depend on size, architecture or cost.

In their physical structure and appointments, they may be the best that the mind can conceive. Unlimited money may be at their disposal. The minister may be a master of theology, the teacher a master of pedagogy, the housewife a master of domestic science, and yet the church, the school and the home may fail to realize their high and noble purposes, unless the soul and spirit of religion, the soul and spirit of education, the soul and spirit of the fireside live and glow within them.

Dogmas and creeds cannot take the place of the soul and the spirit of religion. On the contrary, they kept Lincoln and in times past have kept millions from the church. In that connection Lincoln wrote: "I have never joined a church because I have found difficulty in giving my assent without mental reservation to the long complicated statement of Christian doctrine which characterizes their articles of belief and confession of faith." Continuing, he said: "When any church will inscribe over its altar as its sole qualification for membership, the Saviour's condensed statement of the substance of both law and gospel, 'Thou shalt love the Lord, thy God, with all thy heart, with all thy soul and with all thy might and thy neighbor as thyself,' that church will I join with all my heart and all my soul." If the church is to fulfill its mission in the world, it must sink disputes about dogma and creed, and unite in emulation of the Master's life of love and service. The inter-church

movement now going on in the world and the growing inter-church spirit everywhere manifesting itself, are encouraging signs of response to the call of the soul of mankind for a church, unified in the spirit of the Master.

As of the church, so of the school—nothing can take the place of the spirit. Mere pedagogy, bound by profession and tradition to ancient methods and curriculums, cannot take the place of the spirit of education.

Higher education should of course be encouraged, but a knowledge of practical matters necessary to successful lives and useful citizenship should be taught, if need be, from the kindergarten through every grade and by teachers imbued with the importance of such knowledge and eager to impart it.

No pupil, boy or girl, should be permitted to leave school and assume the duties of citizenship without an understanding of the structure and history of the government of which they are to become a constituent part and of the obligations of citizenship.

No girl should be permitted to finish school without a thorough understanding of domestic science and a true conception of the importance and dignity of home making nor without adequate knowledge of the physiology and functions of her sex and of their sacred relation to the home and civilization.

No boy should be permitted to finish his education without knowing how to tie a knot to meet an emergency and such a knot as the emergency requires; without knowing the name of one tree from another; without knowing how to swim and paddle and shoot; without knowing how to use, in the commonest way, the commonest tools of the commonest handiwork; without, in short, knowing those things which every man most needs to know in everyday life and ignorance of which makes him seem a sissy among his fellows. Moreover like his sisters, he should be taught the physiology and functions of his sex

and their sacred relations to the home and society and there should be no false modesty about it.

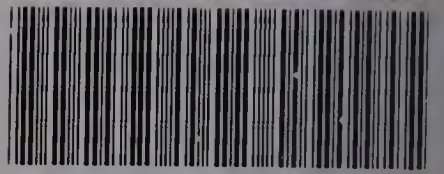
If it is urged against sex instruction that it puts the idea of sex into the mind of the child and that such instruction should be left to the parents and the sacred precincts of the home, the answer is: (1) that it is impossible to keep the sex idea from the child; (2) as a general rule parents never have and never will perform their duty in this respect; (3) it is better for the child to meet the sex problem, so vital to his welfare, face to face, in the light of science and experience, and with an understanding of the physical, civil and divine laws governing it, than to leave him to meet the lure, mystery and romance of it without such understanding.

If the school is to fulfill its mission in the world, it must adapt itself to the needs of the world. As the torch bearer of the world, it must hold the torch high and keep it burning brightly. The gradual extension of elective courses and occupational departments, and the vision and spirit which characterized the recent world conference of five million teachers, are signs that the school is facing the sunrise and keeping step with the march of progress.

As of the church and school, so of the home—nothing can take the place of the spirit. There may be the strongest bedpost and buttery attachments; there may be no default in domestic science, but if the home would fulfill its mission in the world, it must have also the home and fireside spirit of love, devotion and service. And let us not forget that the true fireside spirit includes the relation and obligation of love, devotion and service to the neighborhood, the state, the nation, the world and to the Almighty.

I need not say that the home should be a place of obedience to civil and divine law. Certainly it should not be an improvised distillery and an accomplice in bootlegging thereby bringing the constitution into contempt and encouraging anarchy.

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